systems limit both the marketplace options of firms and the administrative choices of governments. That is, in each country financial markets are one element that delimits the ways in which business and the state can interact. The structure of those markets at once influences the capacity of government to exert industrial leadership and the nature of the political conflicts that arise from its economic objectives. Very simply, in market economies where freely moving prices allocate goods and services, money is not only a medium of exchange but also a means of political and social control: it is one way of deciding who gets what. Therefore, by following the money flows in the market economy and in the institutions that structure that flow we can learn a great deal about the uses to which the society's resources are put, the people who make the allocative decisions, and the process through which control is obtained and exerted.

All long projects require funds to conduct them and the support of friends and colleagues to complete them. This book was no exception. Funding came principally from the German Marshall Fund, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the University of California. Support and advice came from many people over many years. Several are owed special thanks. Peter Gourevitch and Suzanne Berger provided the indispensable encouragement and penetrating analysis that one receives only when the best of friends also happen to be excellent scholars. In our frequent discussions Charles Sabel made me see more clearly what in fact I was attempting with this book. Peter J. Katzenstein clarified the structure the argument should take. Those who worked with me on the sector studies that appear in American Industry in International Competition, another volume in this series, kept my eye focused on the real economy and not on the haze of academic arguments about the "crises." Michael Borrus and James E. Millstein both aided my education about the American economy and kept my enthusiasm for the questions fresh. John Ackerman of Cornell University Press worked with patience, exceptional intelligence, and skill to penetrate my arguments and turn my sometimes heavy prose into a more accessible form. Patricia Lockary made my work on successive versions more tolerable by making sure that I kept the whole project in perspective. Her editorial skill, honed in legal practice, and her complete intolerance for social science jargon and vague concepts made this a much better book.

JOHN ZYSMAN

Berkeley, California

Governments, Markets, and Growth

Cornell Studies in Political Economy

EDITED BY

PETER J. KATZENSTEIN

American Industry in International Competition: Government Policies and Corporate Strategies, edited by John Zysman and Laura Tyson

Closing the Gold Window: Domestic Politics and the End of Bretton Woods, by
Joanne Gowa

Governments, Markets, and Growth: Financial Systems and the Politics of Industrial Change, by John Zysman

International Regimes, edited by Stephen D. Krasner

Governments, Markets, and Growth

FINANCIAL SYSTEMS AND THE POLITICS OF INDUSTRIAL CHANGE

JOHN ZYSMAN

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

Ithaca and London

338.9 2997

Copyright © 1983 by Cornell University Press

All rights reserved. Except for brief quotations in a review, this book, or parts thereof, must not be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher. For information address Cornell University Press, 124 Roberts Place, Ithaca, New York 14850.

First published 1983 by Cornell University Press. Published in the United Kingdom by Cornell University Press Ltd., Ely House, 37 Dover Street, London W1X 4HQ.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Governments, markets, and growth.

(Cornell studies in political economy)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Economic policy. 2. Industry and state. 3. Economic development. 4. Finance. I. Title. II. Title: Financial systems and the politics of industrial change. III. Series.

338.9 HD87.Z97 1983 82-49269

ISBN 0-8014-1597-7

For my parents, who always wanted me to be a scholar

UNIVERSITY LIBRÁRIES CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY PITTSBURGH, PENNSYEVÁNIA 15213

| 1 ************************************ | | | |
|---|--|--|--|

Contents

| Preface | | 7 | |
|--|----------|-----|---|
| PART I. THE ARGUMENT | | / | |
| TART I. THE ARGUMENT | | | |
| 1. The State in the Marketplace | | 11 | |
| 2. Finance and the Politics of Industry | | | |
| , | | 55 | V |
| PART II. THE EVIDENCE | | | |
| 3. The Interventionist Temptation: The French Case | ii ii | | |
| 4. The Unsettling Agenda: The British Case | | 99 | |
| 5. Generalizing the Argument: Japan, West Germany, and | the | 171 | |
| United States | | 233 | V |
| PART III. CONCLUSION | | | |
| 6. Finance, Adjustment, and Political Crisis: Concluding | | | |
| Remarks | | | |
| 2011ai R3 | | 285 | • |
| Appendix | | 901 | |
| Notes | | 321 | |
| Index | | 323 | |
| | | 351 | |

Preface

The economic performance of all the advanced countries deteriorated during the 1970s, in many cases quite abruptly. This deterioration has provoked throughout the West a new debate about the proper role of government in the economy. Since solutions always depend on how one perceives a problem, it is not surprising that the sharply different explanations of our current troubles have produced sharply different explanations.

ferent prescriptions for resolving them.

This book offers an interpretation of contemporary economic difficulties and of the policy debate they have engendered in the advanced countries. It discusses why it has become harder to manage the thousands of micro-changes in production and products which are necessary for economic growth and why attempts to make such changes are met with growing political resistance. The book's general arguments are based on an analysis of the efforts of the governments of the larger advanced countries—the United States, Great Britain, France, West Germany, and Japan—to respond to shifting economic conditions in the years since the Second World War. The discussion focuses on the capacities of the various governments to intervene selectively to shape industrial outcomes and attempts to account for national differences in these capacities and in the strategies adopted. The book argues that there have been three distinct technical-political solutions to the problems of growth: state-led, market-led, and negotiated.

One element of the explanation of the differences in government capacities for industrial leadership is distinct to this book. I contend that an examination of national financial structures can illuminate both government economic strategies and the political conflicts that accompany industrial change. The particular arrangements of national financial